

**Political Science 803**  
**Political Attitudes and Cognition**  
**Winter, 2001**

Tom Nelson  
2044 Derby Hall  
2-6408

nelson.179@osu.edu  
Office Hours: Wednesdays 1-3 p.m.  
or by appointment

Course overview. This seminar examines the political psychology of citizens (mostly). We will cover a number of topics that have been successfully grafted from social, cognitive, and personality psychology onto such venerable political science subjects as public opinion, voting, racial politics, and mass media influence. We will discuss the successes and failures of these theoretical marriages. We will especially focus on the following two questions: (1) How has psychology illuminated these political puzzles?; and (2) How has political science extended and modified psychological theory?

Most weeks I will present a little background material via lecture. I will try to bring everyone up to speed on the essential psychological findings apropos the week's topic. Then we will move to a discussion oriented by the above two questions, and of course by the strengths and weaknesses, both theoretical and empirical, of the assigned readings.

Course requirements.

1. *Midterm examination.* This will be an on-line essay examination covering the material in the first half of the course.
2. *Final research proposal.* The final paper will be a 15-page research proposal, where you will sketch out a hypothetical empirical project intended to fill a gap in the literature or challenge established findings. Guidelines for these assignments will be passed out in class.
3. *Class participation.* You should be prepared to contribute to class discussion. Furthermore, each week, I will post one or two discussion questions on the class website for your consideration. You are required to make at least one contribution to the on-line discussion, either directly responding to my question or to another posting (see below). Lastly, each week, one or more of you will serve as a discussion facilitator. Your job will be to present a short oral critique of one of the assigned readings. Your discussion should include a brief synopsis of the theoretical orientation, major hypotheses, research method, and findings of the study. You should finish with a candid description of your favorable and unfavorable reactions to the reading. This presentation will ideally launch a class discussion of that paper and the other assigned pieces. More extensive tips for preparing this presentation can be found on the last page of this syllabus.

WebCT. This course has a companion website, available through the Department of Political Science's homepage (<http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/>). If you have already used WebCT for

another course, you should be able to register for the course yourself. If you have never used WebCT before, please let me know and I will set you up with a UserID and password.

## Readings

The following books are required for purchase, and are available at the OSU Bookstore or your favorite on-line resource:

Cialdini, Robert B. 2000. *Influence: Science And Practice*, 4th Ed. Allyn & Bacon

Gilovich, Thomas. 1993. *How We Know What Isn't So: The Fallibility Of Reason In Everyday Life*. New York: Free Press

Kunda, Ziva. 1999. *Social Cognition*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

### 1. Introduction: Cognition in politics

Kunda, Chapter 2.

McGraw, Kathleen M.. 2000. "Contributions Of The Cognitive Approach To Political Psychology." *Political Psychology* 214: 805-832.

### 2. Attitude structure

Kunda, chapter 4.

Ajzen, I. 1991. "The Theory Of Planned Behavior." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50, 179-210.

Fazio, R. H., & Williams, C. J. 1986. "Attitude Accessibility As A Moderator Of The Attitude-Perception And The Attitude-Behavior Relations: An Investigation Of The 1984 Presidential Election." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 505-514.

McGuire 1985. "Attitudes And Attitude Change." In G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook Of Social Psychology* (3rd ed.). New York: Random House (excerpts).

Wilson, Timothy D., And Sara D. Hodges. 1992. "Attitudes As Temporary Constructions." In *The Construction Of Social Judgments*, ed. Leonard L. Martin, Abraham Tesser, et al.

### 3. Belief Systems - Relations Between Attitudes

Converse, P. E. 1964. "The Nature Of Belief Systems In Mass Publics." In D. E. Apter (Ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: Free Press.

Feldman, S., & Zaller, S. 1992. "The Political Culture Of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses To The Welfare State." *American Journal of Political Science*, 36, 268-307.

Luskin, R. C. 1987. "Measuring Political Sophistication." *American Journal of Political Science*, 31, 856-99.

Hurwitz, Jon, & Peffley, Mark. 1987. "How Are Foreign Policy Attitudes Structured? A Hierarchical Model." *American Political Science Review* 81: 1099-120.

Smith, E. R. A. N. (1989). *The Unchanging American Voter*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Excerpts.

#### **4. Theories Of Persuasion And Attitude Change**

Cialdini, R.B. 1993. *Influence: Science And Practice* (4<sup>th</sup> Ed.). Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.

Kuklinski, James H., & Norman L. Hurley. 1996. "It's A Matter Of Interpretation." In Diana C. Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman, and Richard A. Brody (Eds.), *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

#### **5. Memory Models**

Kunda, Chapter 5.

Zaller, J., & Feldman, S. 1992. "A Simple Theory Of The Survey Response: Answering Questions Versus Revealing Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science*, 36: 579-616.

Lodge, Milton, Marco R. Steenbergen, & Shawn Brau. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *American Political Science Review* 89: 309-326.

Kuklinski, James H., Robert C. Luskin, and John Bolland. 1991. "Where Is The Schema? Going Beyond The "S" Word In Political Psychology." *American Political Science Review* 85(Dec): 1341-56. Plus critiques by Milton Lodge, Kathleen M. McGraw, Pamela Johnston Conover, Stanley Feldman, and Arthur H. Miller.

#### **6. Priming and Framing**

Kunda, Chapter 7.

Tourangeau, R., & Rasinski, K. A. 1988. "Cognitive Processes Underlying Context Effects In Attitude Measurement." *Psychological Bulletin*, 103, 299-314.

Nelson, Thomas E., And Zoe M. Oxley. 1999. "Issue Framing Effects On Belief Importance And Opinion." *Journal Of Politics* 614(Nov.): 1040-1067.

Price, Vincent, And David Tewksbury. 1997. "News Values And Public Opinion: A Theoretical Account Of Media Priming And Framing." In *Progress In The Communication Sciences*, ed. G. Barnett and F. J. Boster 13: . Greenwich, Ct: Ablex.

Sears, David O., Richard R. Lau. 1983. "Inducing Apparently Self-Interested Political Preferences." *American Journal Of Political Science* 27May: 223-51.

#### **7. Affect And Cognition**

Kunda, chapter 6.

Abelson, Robert P., Kinder, Donald R., Peters, Mark D., & Fiske, Susan T. 1982. "Affective And Semantic Components In Political Person Perception." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 42: 619-630.

Conover, Pamela Johnston, And Stanley Feldman. 1984. "Emotional Reactions To The Economy: I'm Mad As Hell And I'm Not Going To Take It Anymore." *American Journal Of Political Science* 301(Feb.): 50-78.

Ellsworth, Phoebe C., And Samuel R. Gross. 1994. "Hardening Of The Attitudes; Americans' Views On The Death Penalty." *Journal Of Social Issues* 502: 19-52.

Kuklinski, James H., et al. 1991. "The Cognitive And Affective Bases Of Political Tolerance Judgments." *American Journal of Political Science* 35: 1-27.

## **8. Motivation And Cognition**

Gilovich, T. 1991. *How We Know What Isn't So*. Chapters 1-7 required; chapters 8-11 recommended.

Lord, Charles G., Mark R. Lepper, Elizabeth Preston. 1984. "Considering The Opposite: A Corrective Strategy For Social Judgment." *Journal Of Personality And Social Psychology* 476: 1231-1243.

## **9. Attribution Theory**

Kunda, Chapter 9.

Patterson, Thomas. 1994. *Out Of Order*. New York: Vintage Books. (excerpts).

Iyengar, Shanto. 1996. "Framing Responsibility For Political Issues." *Annals Of The American Academy Of Political And Social Science* 546(July): 19-.

Funk, Carolyn L.. 1999. "Bringing The Candidate Into Models Of Candidate Evaluation." *The Journal Of Politics* 61: 700-720.

Bobo, Lawrence, and James R. Kluegel. 1993. "Opposition to Race-Targeting: Self-Interest, Stratification Ideology, or Racial Attitudes?". *American Sociological Review* 58: 443-64.

## **10. Decision-making**

Kunda, Chapter 3

Levy, Jack S.. 1997. "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, And International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 41March: 87-112.

Monroe, Kristen Renwick. 1991. "The Theory Of Rational Action: Its Origins And Usefulness For Political Science." In *The Economic Approach To Politics: A Critical Reassessment Of The Theory Of Rational Action*, ed. Kristen Renwick Monroe. New York, NY: Hapercollins.

Quattrone, George A., And Amos Tversky. 1988. "Contrasting Rational And Psychological Analyses Of Political Choice." *American Political Science Review* 823: 720-36.

## Critiquing Empirical Research

Throughout this course we will spend a considerable amount of time evaluating the scientific integrity and theoretical significance of a number of empirical research papers. Each week we will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of one or more studies. You should prepare to chip in your two cents during every class meeting; during your moment in the sun as designated discussion leader, your contribution should run closer to a half-dollar. Below are listed some questions you should ask of every study, including your own, which will help guide our discussions. As the course moves along, you should think of adding your own questions to this list. During your leader week, you should be prepared not only to offer answers to these questions, but to help conduct your fellow seminar members through a discussion of these issues.

- What is the scientific problem, puzzle, or question the research addresses? Is it sufficiently important and intriguing?
- What is the major theoretical approach to the problem, or is the study merely exploratory? Are the theoretical constructs clearly demarcated and logically connected to the puzzle?
- Is there a truly testable hypothesis that follows directly from the puzzle?
- Is the research design and methodology suitable for the theoretical question?
  - ◆ *Are the empirical variables properly operationalized?*
  - ◆ *Does the research design incorporate the relevant variables without becoming needlessly complex? Are potentially important interactions accounted for?*
  - ◆ *How well do the design and methodology minimize potential threats to internal validity? How well does the researcher address, or at least answer, external validity concerns?*
- Are conclusions appropriate to the quantitative/qualitative findings?
- Does the conclusion address relevant implications or extensions of the findings?

### Miscellaneous Additional Readings

- Abelson, R. P. (1959). Modes of resolution of belief dilemmas. *Journal Of Conflict Resolution*, 3, 343-352.
- Abelson, R. P. (1983). Whatever became of consistency theory? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 9, 37-54.
- Abelson, Robert P. 1996. "The Secret Existence of Expressive Behavior." In Jeffrey Friedman (Ed.), *The Rational Choice Controversy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Anderson, N. H. (1973). Information integration theory applied to attitudes about U.S. Presidents. *Journal of Education Psychology*, 64, 1-8.
- Ashmore, R. D., & Del Boca, F. K. (1981). Conceptual approaches to stereotypes and stereotyping. In D. L. Hamilton (Ed.), *Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behavior* (pp. 1-35). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Behr, R. L., & Iyengar, S. (1985). Television news, real-world cues, and changes in the public agenda. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 49, 38-57.
- Bentler, P. M., & Speckart, G. (1981). Attitudes "cause" behaviors: A structural equation analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40, 226-238.
- Bianco, William T. 1998. "Different paths to the same result: rational choice, political psychology, and impression formation in campaigns." *American Journal of Political Science* 42(Oct.): 1061-81.
- Billig, M. (1987). *Arguing and thinking: A rhetorical approach to social psychology*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Birnbaum, M. H., & Mellers, B. A. (1983). Bayesian inference: Combining base rates with opinions of sources who vary in credibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45, 792-804.
- Bishop, G. F. (1990). Issue involvement and response effects in public opinion surveys. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 54, 209-218.
- Bishop, George F., Alfred J. Tuchfarber, Andrew E. Smith, Paul R. Abramson, and Charles W. Ostrom. 1994. "Question Form and Context Effects In The Measurement Of Partisanship: Experimental Tests Of The Artifact Hypothesis." *American Political Science Review* 884(Nov.): 945-.
- Bless, H., Bohner, G., Schwarz, N., & Strack, F. (1990). Mood and persuasion: A cognitive response analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 16, 331-345.
- Bobo, L. (1983). Whites' opposition to busing: Symbolic racism or realistic group conflict? *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 45, 1196-1210.
- Breckler, S. J., & Wiggins, E. C. (1989). Affect versus evaluation in the structure of attitudes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 25, 253-271.
- Breckler, S. J., & Wiggins, E. C. (1991). Cognitive responses in persuasion: Affective and evaluative determinants. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 27, 180-200.
- Brent, E., & Granberg, D. (1982). Subjective agreement with the presidential candidates of 1976 and 1980. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42, 393-403.
- Brickman, Philip. (1977). Preference for inequality. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 40, 303-310.

- Cacioppo, J. T., Marshall-Goodell, B. S., Tassinari, L. G., & Petty, R. E. (1992). Rudimentary determinants of attitudes: Classical conditioning is more effective when prior knowledge about the attitude stimulus is low than high. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 28, 207-233.
- Chaiken, S. (1987). The heuristic model of persuasion. In M. P. Zanna, J. M. Olson, & C. P. Herman (Eds.), *Social influence: The Ontario Symposium* (vol. 5, pp. 3-39). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Chaiken, S. 1980. "Heuristic Versus Systematic Information Processing And The Use Of Source Versus Message Cues In Persuasion." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39, 752-766.
- Chaiken, S., & Yates, S. M. 1985. "Affective-Cognitive Consistency And Thought-Induced Attitude Polarization." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49, 1470-1481.
- Conover, P. J., & Feldman, S. (1981). The origins and meanings of liberal/conservative self-identifications. *AJPS*, 25, 617-645.
- Conover, P. J., & Feldman, S. (1986). The role of inference in the perception of political candidates. In Lau & Sears, *Political Cognition*.
- Converse, P. E. (1970). Attitudes and non-attitudes: Continuation of a dialogue. In E. Tufte (Ed.) *The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 168-189.
- Cooper, J., & Fazio, R. H. (1989). Research traditions, analysis, and synthesis: Building a faulty case around misinterpreted theory. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 15, 519-529.
- Ellsworth, Phoebe C., and Samuel R. Gross. 1994. "Hardening Of The Attitudes; Americans' Views On The Death Penalty." *Journal Of Social Issues* 50(2): 19-52.
- Ferejohn, J. A., & Kuklinski, J. H. (1990). *Information and democratic processes*. Urbana University of Illinois Press.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (Eds.). *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. 1987. "The Political Culture Of Affirmative Action." In *Research in Political Sociology* (vol. 3, pg. 137-177). JAI Press.
- Gamson, William A., & Andre Modigliani. 1989. "Media Discourse And Public Opinion On Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach." *American Journal of Sociology* 95(1): 1-37.
- Hamilton, David L., and Jeffrey W. Sherman. 1994. "Stereotypes". In *Handbook of Social Cognition*, Ed. Robert S. Wyer and Thomas K. Srull. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hastie, R., & Park, B. 1986. "The Relationship Between Memory And Judgment Depends On Whether The Judgment Task Is Memory-Based Or On-Line." *Psychological Review* 93: 258-268.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, Jeffrey Levine, William Morgan, and John Sprague. 1999. "Accessibility and The Political Utility Of Partisan and Ideological Orientations." *American Journal Of Political Science* 43(3): 888-911.
- Iyengar, S., & Kinder, D. R. 1987. *News That Matters*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Jacoby, W. G. Ideological identification and issue attitudes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 35, 178-205.
- Jennings, M. Kent. 1992. "Ideological Thinking Among Mass Publics And Political Elites." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 56: 419-441.
- Kinder, D. R., & Sanders, L. M. (1990). Mimicking political debate with survey questions: The case of white opinion on affirmative action for blacks. *Social Cognition*, 8, 73-103.
- Kinder, D. R., and Sears, D. O. (1981). Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40, 414-431.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics & Democratic Ideals*. Chapters 1-7. Smelser, Neil J. 1998. "The Rational And The Ambivalent In The Social Sciences." *American Sociological Review* 63: 1-16.
- Kluegel, James R. (1985). "If there isn't a problem, you don't need a solution": The bases of contemporary affirmative action attitudes. Special Issue: Affirmative action: Past, present, and future. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 28, 761-784.
- Kluegel, James R.; Smith, Eliot R. (1982). Whites' beliefs about Blacks' opportunity. *American Sociological Review*, 47, 518-532.
- Knight, K. (1985). Ideology in the 1980 election: Ideological sophistication does matter. *The Journal of Politics*, 47, 828-53.
- Krosnick, Jon A., and Donald R. Kinder. 1990. "Altering The Foundations Of Support For The President Through Priming." *American Political Science Review* 84(June): 497-512.
- Kuklinski, J. H., & Sigelman, L. (1992). When objectivity is not objective: network television news coverage of U.S. Senators and the "paradox of objectivity". *The Journal of Politics*, 54, 810-33.
- Lodge, M., McGraw, K. M., & Stroh, P. (1989). An impression-driven model of candidate evaluation. *The American Political Science Review*, 83, 399-419.
- Lord, Charles G., Mark R. Lepper, Elizabeth Preston. 1984. "Considering The Opposite: A Corrective Strategy For Social Judgment." *Journal Of Personality and Social Psychology* 47: 1231-1243.
- McGuire (1985). Attitudes and attitude change. In G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (3rd ed.). New York: Random House (excerpts).
- McGuire, W. J. (1972). Attitude change: The information-processing paradigm. In C. G. McClintock (Ed.), *Experimental social psychology* (pg. 108-141). New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- Millar, M. G., & Tesser, A. 1986. Thought-induced attitude change: The effects of schema structure and commitment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 259-269.
- Nelson, Thomas E., and Zoe M. Oxley. 1999. "Issue Framing Effects On Belief Importance and Opinion." *Journal Of Politics* 614(Nov.): 1040-1067.
- Nelson, Thomas E., Clawson, Rosalee A., & Oxley, Zoe M. 1997. "Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and its Effect on Tolerance." *American Political Science Review* 91: 567-583.
- Payne, John W., James R. Bettman, and Eric J. Johnson. 1993. *The Adaptive Decision Maker*. New York: Cambridge University Press

- Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1986). *Communication and persuasion: Central and peripheral routes to attitude change*. New York: Springer-Verlag (excerpts).
- Petty, Richard A., Joseph R. Priester, and Duane T. Wegener. 1994. "Cognitive Processes in Attitude Change." In Robert S. Wyer & Thomas K. Srull (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Cognition, Volume II* (2<sup>nd</sup>. Ed.), Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Price, V. (1989). Social identification and public opinion. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 53, 197-224.
- Sears, D. O., & Funk, C. L. (1990). The limited effect of economic self-interest on the political attitudes of the mass public. *Journal of Behavioral Economics*, 19, 247-271.
- Skitka, L. J., & Tetlock, P. E. (1993). Providing public assistance: cognitive and motivational processes underlying liberal and conservative policy preferences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65, 1205-23.
- Smith, Eliot R.; Kluegel, James R. (1984). Beliefs and attitudes about women's opportunity: Comparisons with beliefs about Blacks and a general perspective. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 47, 81-95.
- Sniderman, P. M., & Tetlock, P. E. (1986). Symbolic racism: Problems of motive attribution in political debate. *Journal of social issues*, 42, 129-150.
- Sniderman, Paul M., Thomas Piazza, and Philip E. Tetlock. 1991. "The New Racism." *American Journal of Political Science* 35: 423-47.
- Stoker, Laura. 1992. "Interests and Ethics In Politics." *American Political Science Review* 86: 369-380.
- Strack, F., & Martin, L. (1987). Thinking, judging, and communicating: A process account of context effects in attitude surveys. In H. J. Hippler, N. Schwarz, & S. Sudman (Eds.), *Social Information Processing and Survey Methodology*. New York: Springer Verlag.
- Sullivan, Denis G., & Roger D. Masters 1988. "Happy Warriors: Leaders' Facial Displays, Viewers Emotions, And Political Support." *American Journal of Political Science*, 32, 345-368.
- Tourangeau, Roger, and Kenneth A. Rasinski. 1988. "Cognitive Processes Underlying Context Effects In Attitude Measurement." *Psychological Bulletin* 103: 299-314.
- Zaller, J. 1994. "Elite Leadership Of Mass Opinion: New Evidence From The Gulf War." In W. L. Bennett and D. L. Paletz (Eds.), *Taken by Storm*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.